

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05319 01 OF 02 121444Z

ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02

SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 IO-13 AID-05 ACDA-12 COME-00

EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 STR-07 /135 W

-----107468 130117Z /73

R 121400Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6459

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5319

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS PERP, SHUM, AR, US

SUBJECT GOA REVIEWS FOREIGN POLICY

REF: A BUENOS AIRES 4943 NOTAL; B BUENOS AIRES 5124 NOTAL

SUMMARY: EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS FROM A WELL PLACED FOREIGN  
MINISTRY SOURCE THAT THE MINISTRY IS CONDUCTING A HIGH-  
LEVEL REVIEW OF ARGENTINE FOREIGN POLICY. THIS REVIEW  
REPORTEDLY REFLECTS OFFICIAL CONCERN OVER DETERIORATING  
RELATIONS WITH THE US, ITS IMAGE AND POTENTIAL ISOLATION  
PROBLEM, DIFFERENCES WITH BRAZIL OVER THE PARANA RIVER  
PROJECTS AND THE BORDER CONFLICT WITH CHILE. GOA IS  
SAID TO BE SEEKING TO BROADEN ITS OPTIONS, TO PROMOTE  
COMMERCIAL TIES PRAGMATICALLY WITH USSR AND OTHERS  
AND TO THRUST ITSELF MORE ACTIVELY UPON THE INTER-  
NATIONAL STAGE IN AN EFFORT TO ENHANCE ITS IMAGE  
AND QUALIFICATIONS AS AN IMPORTANT AND VALUABLE  
WESTERN ALLY BY STRENGTHENING TIES TO THE NON-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05319 01 OF 02 121444Z

ALIGNED COUNTRIES. FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES'  
PARTICIPATION IN THE NAM CONFERENCE AND HIS  
PLANNED VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE  
SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT, WE ARE TOLD. WHILE OUR  
CONCLUSIONS MUST BE TENTATIVE AT THIS JUNCTURE,  
WE JUDGE THAT THE ARGENTINE MILITARY GOVERNMENT  
WILL REMAIN IDEOLOGICALLY INHIBITED FROM DOING

POLITICAL AND MILITARY BUSINESS WITH SOVIETS.  
HOWEVER, TIES TO THE THIRD WORLD ARE LIKELY TO  
GROW. END SUMMARY.

1. OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH GOA OFFICIALS AND PRESS  
COMMENTARY LEAD US TO CONCLUDE THAT THE GOVERNMENT  
IS UNDERGOING A MAJOR REVIEW OF ARGENTINE FOREIGN  
POLICY INTEREST AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS. ACCORDING  
TO A WELL-PLACED POLICY PLANNING OFFICER IN THE  
FOREIGN MINISTRY, THE REVIEW IS IN RESPONSE TO  
OFFICIAL CONCERN OVER INCREASINGLY SERIOUS FOREIGN  
POLICY PROBLEMS, INCLUDING DETERIORATING RELATIONS  
WITH THE US; AN IMAGE PROBLEM WHICH COULD LEAD  
TOWARD GROWING ISOLATION FROM EUROPEAN AND OTHER  
WESTERN NATIONS ARGENTINA CONSIDERS ITS ALLIES;  
SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE DIFFERENCES WITH BRAZIL;  
AND THE BORDER CONFLICT WITH CHILE.

2. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL, ARGENTINA MUST  
FIND A WAY TO RESTORE HARMONIOUS RELATIONS WITH  
THE US AS THE MOST POWERFUL WESTERN NATION AND  
A LOGICAL POLITICAL PARTNER. IT MUST ALSO TRAIN ITS  
SIGHTS ON BROADER ISSUES -- A ROLE IN THE NONALIGNED,  
PARTICIPATION IN THIRD WORLD ISSUES, NUCLEAR ENERGY  
-- TO GET ITSELF OUT OF THE SELF-DEFEATING HUMAN  
RIGHTS DIALOGUE-OF-THE-DEAF SYNDROME. ARGENTINA  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05319 01 OF 02 121444Z

MUST LEARN TO PROJECT ITSELF AS A COUNTRY WORTHY  
OF ATTENTION AND FRIENDSHIP OF WESTERN POWERS  
BEYOND THE SINGLE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. WITH THAT IN MIND, ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL,  
ARGENTINA WILL SEEK TO REASSERT ITSELF IN INTER-  
NATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE OBJECTIVE IS TO BUILD UP  
STRONGER RELATIONS WITH NONTRADITIONAL ALLIES;  
ENLARGE SUPPORT FOR ARGENTINA'S FOREIGN POLICY  
PROBLEMS SUCH AS SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE MALVINAS  
ISLANDS, THE CHILE AND BRAZIL DISPUTES, RELATIONS  
WITH THE US AND THE IMAGE AND ISOLATION THREAT; AND  
TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE WEST THAT ARGENTINA HAS A  
USEFUL AND VALUABLE ROLE TO PLAY AS AN INTER-  
LOCUTOR WITH THIRD WORLD AND NONALIGNED NATIONS.  
TO THAT END, ARGENTINA INTENDS TO PLAY A MORE  
ACTIVE ROLE IN THRID WORLD FORA AND PARTICULARLY  
THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES  
AND A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION WILL ATTEND THEBELGRADE NAM SESSION  
WITH THESE PURPOSES IN MIND.

4. LA NACION, WE THINK, PROVIDED FURTHER INSIGHT

INTO WHAT ROLE THE GOA BELIEVES IT HAS TO PLAY IN  
THE NAM IN AN EDITORIAL OF JUNE 22 CITED IN REFTEL  
A. SAID LA NACION, "WE SHOULD ALSO THINK ABOUT  
WHAT ROLE AN OBJECTIVE LIKE THIS COULD PALY IN  
HAVING ARGENTINA PROVIDE -- AS FRANCE HAS SUGGESTED  
-- A MODERATING FORCE WITHIN THE THIRD WORLD MOVE-  
MENT IN GENERAL AND THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES IN  
PARTICULAR; THIS IDEA MIGHT BE WORTH LOOKING INTO,  
ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE TURNABOUT ON US POLICY  
TOWARD AFRICA, A SITUATION WHICH CALLS FOR A NEW  
BALANCE IN THES SECTORS." ARGENTINE MILITARY  
SOURCES HAVE FURTHER AMPLIFIED THIS CONCEPT IN  
CONVERSATION WITH US, SAYING THAT ARGENTINA  
CAN PLAY A ROLE IN THE NAM BY COUNTERING CUBAN  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BUENOS 05319 01 OF 02 121444Z

INFLUENCE AND BE KEEPING THE NONALIGNED HONESTLY  
OUT OF THE SOVIET'S SPHERE.

5. ACCORDING TO THE WEEKEND PRESS, GOA SOURCES  
HAVE CONFIRMED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES WILL  
ACCEPT AN INVITATION TO THE SOVIET UNION ON A  
DATE TO BE ESTABLISHED. HE ALSO WILL FOLLOW  
THE FOOTSTEPS OF JUNTA MEMBER ADMIRAL MASSERA  
AND VISIT ROMANIA AFTER THE BELGRADE NAM  
CONFERENCE -- REPORTEDLY SOMETIME IN SEPTEMBER.

6. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PLANNING OFFICIAL CITED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUENOS 05319 02 OF 02 130026Z  
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 IO-13 AID-05 ACDA-12 COME-00  
EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 STR-07 /135 W  
-----115477 130118Z /73

R 121400Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6460

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 5319

IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE EXPLAINS MONTES' TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AS INTENDED TO FURTHER COMMERCE WITH A COUNTRY WITH WHICH ARGENTINA ALREADY ENJOYS A FAVORABLE BALANCE OF TRADE. HIS EXPLANATION HERE IS SIMILAR TO THAT HE USED IN DESCRIBING THE NEW APPROACH TO THE NAM, TO WIT: ARGENTINA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DEPENDS ON ENLARGING FOREIGN MARKETS. ITS ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE IMPORTANT BECAUSE TRADE WITH EUROPE IS RESTRICTED BY THE EEC AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE WORSENING BECAUSE OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE MONTES TRIP, ALLOWED THE OFFICIAL, ALSO PERMITS GOA TO FLEX ITS MUSCLES A BIT, DEMONSTRATE THAT IT CAN AND WILL MAINTAIN AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY. BUT HE DENIED THAT IT WAS TO SIGNAL A REORIENTATION OF ARGENTINA AWAY FROM THE WEST.

7. COMMENT: OUR CONCLUSION AT THIS POINT MUST BE TENTATIVE. IT IS STILL UNCLEAR TO US HOW THOROUGH-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUENOS 05319 02 OF 02 130026Z

GOING AND AT HOW HIGH A LEVEL THE REPORTED FOREIGN POLICY REASSESSMENT HAS BEEN. IT IS ALSO UNCLEAR TO WHAT DEGREE THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AND THE ARMED FORCES HIGH COMMAND HAVE GIVEN THEIR APPROVAL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONSERVATIVE ARGENTINE MILITARY WILL REMAIN IDEOLOGICALLY INHIBITED FROM DOING POLITICAL AND MILITARY BUSINESS WITH THE SOVIETS UNLESS THEY CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE VERY HARD PRESSED IN TERMS OF TIGHTENING US AND WEST EUROPEAN ARMS AND ECONOMIC EMBARGOES AGAINST ARGENTINA. WE SEE THE SOVIET GESTURE AS PARTICULARLY AN EFFORT TO TWEAK UNCLE SAM'S BEARD A BIT, BUT STILL IN A VERY LOW KEY WAY. EVEN SO, THE GOA IS GOING TO HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH SUCH A POLICY SHIFT FROM THE COUNTRY'S PRO-WESTERN ELITE AND PRESUMABLY FROM THE MOST CONSERVATIVE MILITARY SECTORS AS WELL. ALREADY, LA PRENSA, AS IN ITS EDITORIAL OF JULY 8, IS RAKING THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE COALS ON ACCOUNT OF THE PLANNED MONTES VISIT TO USSR.

8. HOWEVER, THE NEW APPROACH TO THE NAME IS A DIFFERENT MATTER, WE THINK. THIS COUNTRY HAS A CONSIDERABLE HISTORY OF ATTEMPTING TO PLAY THE THIRD WORLD GAME UNDER RECENT RADICAL AND PERONIST GOVERNMENTS. THE PERONIST MOTTO WAS "NEITHER YANKEES NOR MARXISTS." WHEN THE MILITARY TOOK POWER IN MARCH 1976, IT SAW ITSELF AS REJOINING THE ALLIANCE OF WESTERN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND IT LOOKED NATURALLY TO THE US AS A LEADER AND PRINCIPAL ALLY, TRADING PARTNER AND FINANCIAL SOURCE. NOW, TWO YEARS LATER, THE ARGENTINES ARE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS, LARGELY DUE TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUENOS 05319 02 OF 02 130026Z

DIFFERENCES WITH THE US OVER THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. IN THIS VEIN, THE US IS VIEWED AS HAVING ABDICATED ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING THOSE UNDER THE RIO PACT. IN THE JULY CARTA POLITICA, FOR EXAMPLE, FORMER ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE US EDUARDO ROCA DECLARES THAT THE VICTIM OF THE US'S "IRRESPONSIBLE POLITICAL TEMPERAMENT IS THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WHICH HAS AS ITS CORNERSTONE THE 1947 RIO TREATY, A RECIPROCAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACT, CONNECTED TO THE OAS CHARTER AND IN TURN CONNECTED TO THE IDB. IT IS A STRANGE ALLIANCE IN WHICH THE MAJOR MEMBER NOT ONLY DENIES AID AND CREDITS BUT ALSO THREATENS TO DENY BASIC ARMS," ROCA WRITES. "IN REALITY, THE SYSTEM IS ALREADY DEAD, BUT FAIRLY SOON SOMEONE WILL HAVE TO ISSUE THE DEATH CERTIFICATE. THAT WILL BE DIFFICULT AND COSTLY POLITICALLY BECAUSE OUR HEMISPHERE ISN'T OVERLY SOLID IN CRITICAL MOMENTS SUCH AS THESE."

9. AS FAR AS AN ENLARGED NAM ROLE FOR GOA IS CONCERNED, WE THINK THE SHIFT BEGAN TO SET IN AT LEAST A YEAR AGO. IT WAS EVIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE ARGENTINE VOTING RECORD AT THE 1977 INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) CONFERENCE AND, TO FOLLOW THIS TREND IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR AFFAIRS ONE STEP FURTHER, IT SHOWS UP AGAIN WITH LABOR MINISTER LIENDO'S LATEST AMBIVALENT EFFORT TO ACT AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE US, ARAB AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES ON THE ILO ISSUE. SIMILARLY, THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL LAYER OF FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS AND DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE ARGENTINA PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN NORTH-SOUTH DISCUSSION -- AS A NATURAL LEADER FOR THE SOUTH. THESE CIRCLES ALSO BELIEVE THAT ARGENTINA SHOULD PRESS HARDER FOR BILATERAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BUENOS 05319 02 OF 02 130026Z

TRADE CONCESSIONS FROM THE US IN LIGHT OF  
THE CURRENT BILATERAL TRADE IMBALANCE. END  
COMMENT.

10. EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR AND REPORT  
THE EVOLUTION OF ARGENTINE FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS  
AS THIS DEVELOPMENT COMES MORE CLEARLY INTO FOCUS.  
HIGGINS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978BUENOS05319  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780286-0532  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** BUENOS AIRES  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780771/aaaachnq.tel  
**Line Count:** 292  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** ec724977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 jul 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2043028  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GOA REVIEWS FOREIGN POLICY  
**TAGS:** PEPR, SHUM, AR, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/ec724977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014